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Code-switching: The case of 'Israeli Arab' students at the Arab American University-Palestine

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Abstract

This study aims at shedding the light on the factors lying behind switching to Hebrew, represented with age, gender, work history and place of residence the phenomenon of code-switching between Hebrew-Arabic among Israeli Arab students at the Arab American University in Palestine. It also studies how code-switching may affect the Palestinian identity of those students. The sample of this study is two-fold. The first was conducted quantitatively through randomly selecting 70 Israeli Arabs to answer an 18-item questionnaire. The findings were statistically analysed using SSPS, showing the frequencies, values, means and standard deviation which were analysed using content analysis. Furthermore, the reliability of the paper was tested using the Cronbach Alpha formula of which the reliability coefficient was accepted and satisfied at 0.70. The researcher also conducted a qualitative approach through interviewing six students, analysed using conversational discourse analysis. The study reveals that both age and place of residence were significantly different and affected the choice of Hebrew. The study also reveals that the unconscious and uncontrolled use of Hebrew was the most obvious reason behind switching, while there was also a considerable effect on students' identity at 72%. Hence, the researcher recommends more research is needed for the study of power relations among social classes of Israeli Arab citizens.

Keywords: Code-switching, identity, Israeli Arabs

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1. Introduction

The term 1948 Arabs have been introduced after the establishment of the Israeli state in 1948. Palestinians who used to be the original residents of Palestine have become a minority in the Israeli state (Abdel-Fattah, 2010; Soubhi, Lima Aitdaoud & Talbi, 2016). Although the Arabic Language is considered an official language alongside Hebrew, the hegemony of the later overpowers Arabic in many fields, most importantly the educational system that integrates the Hebrew as the first language.

This research focuses on the percent of integration in the use of Hebrew and Arabic among 1948 students at The Arab American University located in Jenin, West Bank. It is a private university that has created enormous opportunities for the 1948 students 'Israeli Arab students' in so many majors. This university became the main destination for 1948 students.

Due to the status quo of their economic and social interaction with the Jewish community, being forced through, those students develop noticeable code-switching to Hebrew, which as the researcher proposes, creates a communication barrier and affects their identity, too. Consequently, coming to a new heterogeneous community at this University at Jenin, a city situated in the West Bank, can affect how these students integrate at university. Some students tend code-switch to Hebrew in their classes which makes it challenging for their teachers to understand them. When this happens, students attempt to restate their thoughts in English or Arabic.

The question of identity and the use of code-switching are such a crucial issue in linguistics. According to Nilep, 2006, code-switching is defined as the strategy of choosing certain linguistic items to contextualise them in conversation based on certain discourse settings and varied identities. Ritchie & Bhatia, 2004, explain the different behavioural linguistic items that are variably used by the speakers at certain linguistic units in sentences. They differentiate between the inter-sentential alteration, represented with code alteration, and the intra-sentential which happens in code-switching. On the contrary, Kamwangamalu, 1992, categorises code alteration into three sets: Code-switching, code-mixing and borrowing. In his analysis, Abdel-Fattah, 2010, also differentiates between intra-sentential and inter-sentential switching.

Overall, this study deals with identifying the underlying motivations behind code-switching to Hebrew concerning identity. It is also divided into five sections: The introduction, literature review, methodology, data analysis and discussion and finally findings and recommendations. To increase the validity of data and to better understand this phenomenon, the researcher uses both quantitative and qualitative approaches to analysis.

2. Statement of the Problem

The linguistic variation to Hebrew would create ambiguity, confusion and misunderstanding in certain cases, as there is a tendency for Israeli Arab students to switch to Hebrew frequently. In addition, 1967 students are not inclined to hear Hebrew words where there is an equivalence in Arabic; this may create tension and negative attitudes towards the Israeli Arab students. To add, switching to Hebrew may affect the original identity of Palestinians whose first language, Arabic, is 'redecorated', thanks to the power of Hebrew.

3. Significance of the Study

This study aims to investigate the degree of code-switching and the effect of identity in a specific target group, 1948 students, 'Israeli Arabs', at the Arab American University-Palestine (AAUP). This study shows the hybrid, bicultural environment that may force Israeli Arabs to code-switch to Hebrew. Understanding the variables behind code-switching would reflect on how identity is shaped, kept or restored when moving to a new environment that is socially and partially linguistically different environment in the West Bank, at the AAUP.

4. Limitation of the Study

This paper is limited to the 1948 students at the AAUP conducted in the Academic year is 2018-2019. This research intends to study the phenomenon of code-switching from Arabic to Hebrew. The independent variables considered are represented with gender, age, work history and place of residence.

5. Definition of Terms

1948 students: 'Israeli' Arab students who study at Palestinian Universities, in this case, the AAUP.

1967 students: Students from the West Bank, Palestine studying at the Arab American University.

AAUP: The Arab American University, Palestine located in a city called Jenin.

6. Literature Review

Code-switching is a linguistic phenomenon that is handled by many scholars. It is important to subdivided into two parts of this term; code and switching. The term code used by Auer (1998) was discussed controversially as he claims that interlocutors decide on what is considered a code, not linguists. Auer (1998) proposed the question, 'How can we, the analysts, prove that a given set of co-occurring linguistic features is perceived by participants as a distinct code?' (p. 13). The response to such a question, he claims, depends on the interlocutors who may code-switch functionally in certain bilingual communication. The other part of the term 'includes changing and twisting from one code to a new one' (ibid: 13).

Berlinsky-Shay, 2016, however, concluded that code-switching from Arabic to Hebrew can be controlled and governed by individuals. He claims that interlocutors are aware when they code-switch to Hebrew, so its choice-motivated. People should switch or shift codes as the situation or interlocutors change; the decision of switching varies according to the need of the speaker where they do not always conform to one code in the whole conversation (Wardhaugh, 2010). Interlocutors may switch codes according to different factors such as the nature of the conversation, the topic of discussion and the field of discourse (Holmes, 2013).

Clyne, 2009, elaborates that code-switching involves a change from one language into another during conversations between interlocutors. The change could be through the question or the answer of interlocutors. Grosjean, 1982, p. 11 differentiates between code-switching and borrowing where the former includes a change from one language into another in different levels of language. However, the later involves adopting the new word from the other language. He adds that unlike borrowing that occurs at the syntactic and lexical level, a complete thought could be switched. Amara, 2006, p. 3 explains the socio-political state of 1948 Palestinians who are greatly marginalised from the public life

because Arabic is given a lower status than the dominant language Hebrew, especially in the workplace and political sphere.

Auer (1995) defined code-switching as 'the relationship of contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign is in a position to interpret this juxtaposition as such' (p. 116). Such a definition suggests that code-switching occurs between interlocutors who are bilingual aware of the two language codes.

It is important to clarify that Palestinians living in Israel are a minority compared to the Jewish groups. Moreover, Hebrew is considered a second language for Arabs, although it is considered an official language alongside Hebrew (Berlinsky-Shay, 2016). Unlike Arabic, Hebrew gains more power and dominance in different domains and registers such as education, commerce social relations and governmental ones (Henkin-Roitfarb, 2011).

Henkin-Roitfarb, 2011, discusses age, gender and place of residence as independent factors of code-switching. She argues that the degree of language alteration varies according to the area of residence, whether living in the north, centre or south of Israel. As she claims, contact with Hebrew is higher in cities, lesser in villages and in between in the Central Triangle rural areas. The Druze minority also uses Hebrew extensively as they join the military service and thus are in a huge contact with the Jews. Besides, she explains that males tend to use Hebrew more than females. Similarly, younger generations seem to code-switch to Hebrew to a greater extent than older ones. Abdel-Fattah, 2010, supports (Henkin-Roitfarb, 2011) that older generations stick to the Arab identity and use Hebrew less than the younger generations.

However, Sadiqi, 2003, p. 158 points out how males and females use language differently to express different attitudes. Women tend to use prestigious language as proof of identity and an affirmation of their position in society. She highlights how Moroccan women greatly tend to code-switch to French. Such generalisation is not a representation of all women switching to another language as stated by Gardner-Chloros (2009), 'gender is not a fixed, stable and universal category whose meaning is shared within or across cultures' (p. 83). In the case of Hebrew, women code switch to Hebrew unconsciously and unknowingly.

Murad, 2013, also explains that the use of Hebrew is highly used by the villagers who are in huge contact in business with the Jews. In this research, it is found that most 1948 students have worked at least 1 year in different places as shops, malls and restaurants...etc. Thus, they have been so much influenced by the socio-economic surrounding.

One of the main factors that contribute to code-switching is politics. Certain political situations may enforce the use of another language besides the lingua franca. Nilep, 2006, posits that in colonised regions, the dominant group uses language to exercise power while other groups resist and redefine in the marketplace. Abdel-Fattah, 2010, states that during the post-erection of Israel in 1948, residents started to merge in the workforce in Israel and were heavily dependent on the Israeli market. This yielded heavy communication between the Jews and Arabs.

According to Abdel-Fattah (2010), the relationship between language, culture and identity is interrelated, especially in the case of 1948 Arabs, as clinging to culture is mostly related to identity and language.

Coulmas, 2013, p. 193 highlights the relationship between language and identity stating that it is inseparable. People may switch between languages to assert an identity or a feeling of belonging to one group. Another reason for a possible change in identity is the economic incentives. The hegemony of the Jewish market over Arabic seems to play a significant role in increasing the phenomenon of code-switching.

Coulmas (2013) cites (Williams, 1987) as saying: 'The language-identity link is historically contingent' (p. 198). Coulmas also (2013) highlights that language as a symbol of identity is variable

among certain social groups or individuals. Hence, students at AAUP are all considered Palestinians; some students use Hebrew to express their identity. Thus adhering more to their linguistic uniqueness and their social 1948 backgrounds. Other 1948 students think that language does not reflect the true identity although they switch to Hebrew.

According to Joseph (2004), 'any study of language needs to take consideration of identity if it is to be full and rich and meaningful, because identity is itself at the very heart of what language is about, how it operates, why and how it came into existence and evolved as it did, how it is learned and how it is used, every day, by every user and every time it is used' (p. 224). Joseph (2004) therein asserts that language shapes our identity, attitudes and the way people think, act and respond. It is through language that people transmit messages and reflect their backgrounds and ideologies (ibid: 224). Therefore, it is important to study such a correlation that exists among Palestinian Arabs in Israel.

It is important to address the issue of ethnolinguistic identity, a term used by Blommaert, 2005, p. 214 to show how identity is established through a linguistic and an ethnic affiliation to one society. This means that identity is often reshaped based on the ethnic groups living nearby or on the linguistic code they use, which is Hebrew in this case.

Lefkowitz (2004) argues that the use of Hebrew for Arab speakers is 'unmarked' and so much expected, especially in hospitals and workplaces. He also adds that Arab Children, especially in areas with a high population of Arabs and Jews, are more inclined to the programs broadcasted in Hebrew. This may affect their use of the language later. Barnard & McLellan, 2013, explains that code-switching may be used for social camouflage. This occurs at certain linguistic codes when 1948 students attempt to contextualise certain Hebrew items to demonstrate their identity.

Others like Murad, 2013, argue that 1948 Palestinians do not code switch for prestige; in fact, it is a relative and a personal issue that can only be analysed and tested through real-life situations.

To conclude, the geographical, socio-political, demographic and economic factors contribute to varying degrees in code-switching. This research focuses on the reasons behind switching to the use of Hebrew by the 1948 students at AAUP and how that would affect their identity.

7. Method

7.1. Instrument of the study

The research adopts two different methods for the study: A questionnaire randomly distributed to 1984 students and six interviews conducted by the researcher. The target groups were three male and three female students who were asked the questions of what the factors behind code-switching are and whether or not these factors affect their Palestinian identity.

The results will be analysed using a conversation analysis of their responses. A supporter of such a methodology is Moerman (2010) who insists that 'those who use talk to discover what people think must try to find out how the organisation of the talk influences what people say. The data and techniques of conversation analysis permit this' (p.9). He adds that a thorough understanding of the conversations requires the interviewer to 'preserve the interviewee interactional matrix' (p. 9). For this reason, the interviews were employed alongside the questionnaire to support the data.

7.2. Research design

Having surveyed the related literature, the researcher followed a quantitative methodology for an 18-item questionnaire showing four main independent variables behind code-switching: Gender, place of residence, work history and age. The questionnaire was reviewed by experts in the field of

education, methodology and statistics. Therefore, it was seen as an acceptable tool for this purpose. The form used in this questionnaire was the Likert system, a five-point scale: Strongly agree, agree, neutral, strongly disagree and disagree. The reliability of the paper was tested using the Cronbach Alpha formula. The result of the reliability coefficient was accepted and satisfied at (0.70), which was sufficient for the study.

The collected data were analysed using different techniques to answer the questions of the study. These techniques included means, standard deviations, percentages, Independent T-Test and one-way ANOVA. Cronbach Alpha formula was also used to determine the reliability coefficient of the questionnaire. To analyse the findings, the researcher used the ranks: Strongly agree: 5, agree: 4, disagree: 3, strongly disagree 2 and neutral: 1.

The other type of data was collected using a qualitative methodology. The researcher conducted six interviews that are analysed using the conversational analysis strategy. The use of interviews in this research is a supplementary and necessary tool in assessing cultural issues. Tayeb (2001) clarifies that interviews are highly important in understanding cultural issues.

7.3. The population of the study

The population of the study consists of 70, 1948, participants of different majors at the AAUP. The sample of the study was selected randomly from 70 students. It was distributed according to the following independent variables: Gender (Table 1), age (Table 2), place of residence table (Table 3) and work history (Table 4). The qualitative study was obtained by interviewing 6, 1948, students, three males and three females. Those students were interviewed to respond to why they code-switch to Hebrew and if that affects their Palestinian identity.

8. Findings and Discussion

8.1. Sample of the questionnaire

The questionnaire consists of 18 items distributed to 70, 1948, students. It consisted of two parts. The first part shows the variables: Gender, place of residence, work history and age. The second part of the questionnaire is a list of 18 reasons why 1948 students tend to code-switch and how this may affect their identity. The questionnaire scored a reliability coefficient index of 0.707. This was satisfied statistically, according to Cronbach's Alpha. Table A shows the percent of students according to the different variables.

8.2. Research questions

The research is intended to answer the following questions:

1. Is there any significant difference at 0.05 in code-switching and identity related to the independent factors: Gender, age, place of residence and work history?
2. What are the factors underlying code-switching to Hebrew and its relation with identity?

8.3. Hypotheses of the study

1. There are no significant differences at 0.05 in code-switching and identity about gender, age, place of residence and work history. Table 1 shows the percent and frequency of such independent factors.

Table 1. The percent and frequency of independent variables

Variable	Level of Variable	Frequencies	Percentage
1-Sex	Male	31	44.3
	Female	39	55.7
Total		70	100
2-Age	Below 20	45	64.3
	Above 20	25	35.7
Total		70	100
3-Place of Residence	North	56	80.0
Residence	Mid	11	15.7
	South	3	4.3
Total		70	100
4-Work History	Yes	9	12.9
History	No	61	87.1
	Total	70	100

4.1. To answer the first question of whether there are significant differences at 0.05 in code-switching and identity related to the independent factors: Gender, age, place of residence and work history, the researcher has subdivided the question into four sets according to the variable.

4.1.1. Are there any significant differences at 0.05 between male and female students regarding code-switching and identity?

It should be noted that the questionnaire was randomly distributed to students. This means that both sexes have contributed to the findings. Table 1 shows if there were any significant differences in gender using t-test.

Table 2. T-test results of two independent samples for the variable of gender

Field	Gender	No.	Mean	ST	DF	't' value	Sig. Level
Total	Male	31	3.1	0.5150	68	1.302	0.179
	Female	39		3.365			

Table 2 shows that the 't' value for the total degree (1.302) and the level of significance (0.179) are higher than the valid value, so it is clear that there were no statistically significant differences concerning gender. One possible explanation is that both males and females tend to code-switch to Hebrew in the same degree. This finding partially contradicts (Sadiqi, 2003) who claims that some women use the language for self-affirmation, prestige and proof of identity. Conversely, Henkin-Roitfarb, 2011, clarified that males tend to switch to Hebrew more extensively than females, especially those from the Druze Minority. This finding of the independent variable, hence, partially supports Abdel-Fattah (2010) who clarified that prestige was not a defining factor for women and men when code-switching.

4.1.2. The second subdivided variable is age and whether there were any significant differences among participants in the questionnaire. To study this variable, the researcher analysed the data using the t-test provided in Table 3

Table 3. T-test results for the variable of age

Field	Age	No.	Mean	SD	DF	't' value	Sig. Level
Total	Below 20	45	3.16	0.4790	68	2.735	0.008
	Above 20	25	3.25	0.6190			

Table 3 shows that the 't' value for the total degree (2.735) has a significant difference at 0.008. Clearly, Table 3 shows that the variable, age, is significantly different and therefore refutes the null hypothesis suggested earlier. As illustrated above, the mean for students above 20 years old is 3.52 compared with those below 20 years at 3.16. Truly, a great percent of 1948 students have been in contact with the socio-economic setting in Israel. Before enrolling at the university level, 1948 students merge in the workforce in Israel. As clarified by some interviewees, most students work in Jewish supermarkets, restaurants, hotels and others. This would make them more vulnerable and prone to code-switch to Hebrew. Those students bring those lexical Hebrew terms back to their home, friends, street and university. This finding aligns with (Henkin-Roitfarb, 2011, Abdel-Fattah, 2010) that younger generations integrate Hebrew in their conversations more than older ones.

4.1.3. Place of residence as an independent variable

Is there any significant difference concerning the place of residence?

This variable was analysed using the ANOVA test. Table 4 shows the frequency and percent of three communities distributed in the North, Mid and South of Israel. It is clear that most participants come from the north of Israel with a percent of 80. The Mid percent was 15.7 compared to the least percent of the south at 4.3.

Table 4. The percent and frequency of place of residence variable

Variable	Level of variable	Frequencies	Percentage
4-Place of Residence	North	56	80.0
	Mid	11	15.7
	South	3	4.3
Total		70	100

The analysis of the ANOVA test is illustrated in Table 5 to show if the place of residence is statistically significant.

Table 5. Two factor ANOVA test results for the place of residence variable

Field	variance	Mean square	DF	Mean square	'f' value	Sig. level
Total	Between groups	0.370	2	0.185	0.588	0.559
	Within groups	21.112	67	0.315		
	Total	21.483	69			

According to Table 5, the 'F' value for the total degree (0.588) and a significance value of 0.559 are not statistically significant according to the place of residence. However, most participants come from the Northern part of Israel. This community has great contact with the Jewish community, thanks to the closeness of the place and higher integration in the workplace (Henkin-Roitfarb, 2011). Through

the interviews conducted, it was clear that the north tends to code-switch more than the Mid of Israel. It is also found that a significant percentage of students coming from the south of Israel use code-switching greatly for reasons related to the spatial location near Israeli settlements and the fact that so many Druze citizens are serving in the Israeli Army (ibid).

4.1.4. Work history as an independent variable

To answer this hypothesis, the researcher has analysed the data using a T-Test provided with the following Table 6.

Table 6. Independent Sample T-test results for the variable of work history

Field	Work history	No.	Mean	SD	DF	't' value	Sig. level
Total	Yes	9	3.59	0.6500	68	1.767	0.082
	No	61	3.24	0.5340			

Table 6 shows that the work history variable is statistically significant as the value of 't' is higher than the stipulated value. Therefore, the hypothesis that there are no significant differences is rejected thereto. Moreover, students with work history had a higher mean than those who are not working. Such reality is present among a great sector of 1948 students. Before joining university, students prefer to indulge in the real-life market which is linguistically empowered by and enriched with the Hebrew language, as found by Murad, 2013. The chances of holding a position whether vocationally or academically, in the future require that students learn the Hebrew language and be able to excel it. Such an amalgamation and integration in Israeli society come at risk as it enriches the use of Hebrew.

4.2. What are the factors underlying code-switching to Hebrew and its relation to identity?

To answer this question, the researcher calculated means, standard deviations and degrees of each item in the questionnaire. Table 5 shows the most frequent factors that motivate code-mixing among bilingual speakers. Seq. stands for the original sequential organisation in the questionnaire. No. shows the organisation of items based on the highest to the lowest percent. Having examined the independent variables of the study, the researcher calculated the percent, standard deviation, means and degree of the items in the questionnaire, as shown in Table 7.

Table 7. A descriptive analysis of the mean and standard deviation for the factors of code-switching and effect on identity

No.	Seq.	Item	Mean	SD	Percent	Degree
1.	5	Lack of lexical items.	3.82	1.273	77	Agree
2.	2	To assure identity of 1948	3.58	1.197	72	Agree
3.	1	To exclude someone from conversation	3.54	1.293	71	Agree
4.	17	To show solidarity with the group	3.52	1.603	71	Agree
5.	9	Uncontrolled use without a purpose	3.48	1.348	70	Agree
6.	16	To express anger, and annoyance, happiness	3.48	1.304	70	Agree
7.	3	To conceal information	3.47	1.337	69	Agree
8.	15	To emphasise a certain idea	3.37	1.363	67	Neutral
9.	18	To respond to speaker speaking Hebrew	3.32	1.717	67	Neutral
10	8	Show that the person is well-educated	3.28	1.143	66	Neutral
11	7	It's easier to use than Arabic, idleness	3.21	1.392	64	Neutral

12	14	To look prestigious	3.12	1.284	63	Neutral
13	11	It’s a habit, I can’t change it	3.10	1.3953	62	Neutral
14.	13	To add superiority and authority	3.08	1.337	62	Neutral
15	6	Many technical terms used in Hebrew	3.04	1.345	61	Neutral
16	12	The workplace requires extensive use of Hebrew	3.02	1.372	61	Neutral
17	10	Hebrew is a formal language	2.90	1.352	58	Neutral
18	4	Code-switching affects Arab Identity	2.81	1.396	56	Neutral
Total			3.29	.5570	66	Neutral

The above items have been arranged in a top-down analysis according to the highest and lowest mean and percent. It is clear that the overall degree for the response to items was Neutral, where the mean was 3.29. This means that students have varied opinions on why they code-switch to Hebrew. The prominent mean was in favour of the first item, ‘Uncontrolled use, without a purpose’. It should be noted that some 1948 students use Hebrew unconsciously and unwillingly just because they cannot find the right word in Arabic due to the high degree of integration in the Hebrew speaking community. It is an undeliberate use of language and uncontrolled. In other words, it is almost inescapable for 1948 people to expel the use of Hebrew in every part of their life, at home, school and street workplace... etc. The social-economic integration of both Jews and Arabs creates more chances of code-switching, as some Arabs got used to use certain terms in Hebrew unintentionally as shalom (hello), Glida (ice-cream), eesh (Excellent), Biseder (ok), Makrin (LCD - Projector), Hevri (my friend), toov (good), Hasa3a (Transportation), Aeen Li Zman (I have no time), Nakhoon (right) Mahsoom (check-point) and other words (Abdel-Fattah, 2010). The second-highest percent was item no. 2 ‘To assure the identity of 1948’. Presumably, students stick to their original identity, the Palestinian one. In this regard, students point out that it is really important to show their background thus giving them more power and self-affirmation even though they speak Hebrew. Their use of such a language is not on purpose as mentioned earlier. This claim is supported by Blommaert, 2005; Coulmas, 2013 and Joseph, 2004 who found that identity is often reshaped based on the linguistic or ethnic code present in the community.

This finding also aligns with Barnard & McLellan, 2013, p. 169 which may trigger a discussion of why 1948 students use Hebrew consciously in particular situations to enhance the identity of 1948 students. Still, when asked why they consciously use Hebrew, most students would deny and say that their choice of Hebrew is unconscious, thus adhering more to the Arab identity.

‘The lack of lexical items in Arabic’, item three has scored third in students’ responses with a 72%. Living among a different ethnic group with a powerful language that almost dwells in each aspect of students will create chances of losing certain lexical items in the mother tongue. For some students, certain items are not present in the processing of their mindsets. In other words, those lexical items have no equivalence in their repertoire or their language capacity, even though Arabic is their mother tongue; it is the language of the grandparents and ancestors. However, the power of Hebrew in the different spheres of life politically, socially and economically wipes out such lexical items, which consequently will affect their identity.

The least mean of items was no. 16, 17 18 ‘To look prestigious’, ‘To show that a person is well-educated’ and ‘To exclude someone from a conversation’, respectively. The researcher argues that the matter of prestige is self-centered and may not be judged through a quantitative method only, rather it should be tested within a real-life situation that enforces or refute such a claim. This result agrees with Abdel-Fattah (2010) who pointed out that prestige is not a relative factor in code-switching and identity.

4.3. Qualitative data

The qualitative data are supported with a non-participant approach based on the importance of interviews. Tayeb (2001) assures the importance of interviews in understanding such cultural-linguistic issues. He argues that the researchers should feel the interviewee, adapt with and create a physical presence that allows the researchers to analyse all the surrounding factors that may attribute to such a phenomenon.

The six respondents were asked the following questions: What are the factors behind switching to Hebrew? Does it affect identity or not? The data have been tape-recorded, translated then transcribed for the purpose of analysis.

The first interviewee aged 22 from Jaffa, responded with the following: 'I just use it, I don't know why. I have never thought about identity being affected'. This respondent supports the highest percent obtained in the questionnaire that the reason for the use of Hebrew is uncontrolled and not choice motivated. He adds, 'where I come from, Jaffa, includes a great contact with Jews'. Although the place of residence was not significantly different in the questionnaire, this alludes that geography plays a role in the degree of code-switching.

Another respondent supported the first respondent, 'Using Hebrew does not affect my identity at all, I'm an Arab and I will always be so'. The researcher though believes that a change in identity is not direct and quick; it is indirect and slow to the extent that certain Arabic lexical items are completely unknown and are absent from their lexicon. The third respondent attributed the tendency of switching to the fact that they were 'never told about the equivalence of certain Hebrew words into Arabic, I blame my school and family'. The thirds respondent ended the statement with lamentation and criticism of school and family.

Another respondent stated that 'I feel embarrassed sometimes for speaking Hebrew with 1967 students, I always try to lessen the use of Hebrew. I really feel bad doing so'. This feeling of embarrassment was expressed differently by the fifth respondent, 'I can't imagine saying 'hajiz' before students of 1948, they would make fun of me and I would feel embarrassed'. 'Hajiz' is the Arabic equivalent for the Hebrew one 'mahsoum', translated as 'checkpoint' in English. This feeling of embarrassment by the 5th respondent adds to the phenomenon of code-switching. 'The presence of Israeli checkpoints through which we enter daily makes it a must to integrate Hebrew in our conversations'. This answer is based on the socio-politic reality where Palestinians live in the occupied land of 1948a.

The last female respondent aged 19 clearly stated that 'no matter how closely-integrated we are with the Israeli community, this is our land and 1 day we shall be victorious'. She added, 'I don't like to be called Israeli Arabs or even 1948 students, because we are all Palestinians'.

Nearly, all respondents agree that the choice of Hebrew is undeliberate and uncontrolled, which agrees with the finding of the questionnaire. However, the degree of belonging and identity-affirmation may not be measured in several interview sp; the researcher argues that this effect on identity is unseen. In other words, there is a shift from the use of Arabic in favour of Hebrew in certain situations.

5. Conclusion

Code-switching is highly an investigated topic in linguistics, as many researchers have explored the motives and factors behind switching to one language. This paper tried to investigate the reasons behind code-switching and its relation with identity among the 1948 students at AAUP. The results showed that there was no significant difference attributed to gender, work history and place of residence as found by Abdel-Fattah, 2010. However, this study contradicts (Henkin-Roitfarb, 2011)

who illustrated that both age and gender had a statistically significant difference as students get greatly involved in the Israeli community in different spheres of life. The detailed analysis of the items listed in the questionnaire proved that code-switching is unintentional and uncontrolled. However, a considerable percentage of students (72%) expressed that code-switching affects their identity in certain degrees and have connected that with the lack of certain lexical items in Arabic. This was also confirmed by the respondents in the interview. All in all, the researcher thinks that despite the difficulty for 1948 Arabs to expel the use of Hebrew, there should be more control at schools and universities by spreading awareness among students and all members of society to at least use the Arabic equivalent for the most terms expressed in Hebrew. The researcher recommends more research should be conducted on the family matrix or structure, thus showing if there are any significant differences according to the background of such families. Moreover, larger-scale research should be conducted geographically among those living in North, Mid and South of 'Israel' as each sector has its own social and linguistic codes.

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